उपसभापति : हां ठीक है, । चूंकि पांच बजे प्रधानमंत्री जी का वक्तव्य है।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : उनके वक्तव्य के बाद या कल, अगर आप मुझे जारी रखने की अनुमति दे तो मैं बैठ सकती हूं।

उपसभापति : उनका वक्तव्य हो जाय, उसके पश्चात् या फिर बाद में आप कंटीन्यू कर लीजिए ।

श्रीमती सुषमा स्वराज : ठीक है।

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त: महोदया, आधे भाषण के बाद दाद दी जा सकती है या नहीं ?

उपसभापति : आधी दाद दे दीजिए,आधी बाद में दे दीजिए। प्रधान मंत्री जी।

STATEMENT BY PRIME MINISTER

Incidents of firing by Pakistani troops in the Kupwara Sector on the line of action control in Jammu and Kishmir

THE PRIME MINISTER (SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH); Madam,

The Kupwara Sector, on the Line of Control in Jammu & Kashmir, is one of the areas in which there have been continued attempts at infiltrations by Pakistan trained terrorists in recent months.

The Machhal sub-Sector, within the Kupwara Sector, is situated opposite village Kel in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir, Recently, our troops noted an intrusion in this area. On 12th August, 1990 our troops took appropriate action and eliminated this intrusion. The Pakistani Army attempted to interfere with these operations, using heavy weapons, including mortars and artillery. However, our troops succeeded in entirely clearing this area of the intrusion.

This incident was reported by the Pakistani media as an attack launched by our troops on their posts in that area. This was refuted by us.

After a lull, the Pakistani forces commeneced artillery fire at a number of our posts in the Machhal sub-Sector, from 20th August. Our troops in the area retaliated with appropriate fire. The exchange of fire is continuing, confined to this sub-Sector.

As per the existing arrangements, Directors General, Military Operations of the two countries are in touch with each other. There is no cause for any undue concern since we trust that these localised incidents will be contained and the situation difused. Our forces are fully prepared to effectively deal with any eventuality.

It is our sincere hope that there will be no recurrence of such incidents and that the Government of Pakistan will realise the need to fully abide by the Simla Agreement. This would be in keeping with the dialogue which we have initiated with the Government of Pakistan.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I have lots of names before me. But, as decided, I am going to call one from each party and three from the Congress Party. Shri Gurudas Das Gupta. (*Interruptions*). I cannot be. This is the suggestion. We have arrived at an agreement on that. Otherwise, according to rules, I will have to call one from each party. I am calling three from the Congress Party and the party has given me some names.

SHRI V. NARAYANSAMY (Pondicherry): The National Front as a whole is one party.

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : (उत्तर प्रदेश) : महोदया, जी। पहले से कन्वेंशन, परम्परा चली आ रही थी क्लेरिफिकेशन की, उसी के अनुसार जो सदस्य पूछना चाहे उन्हें पूछने दिया जाए और उनके अधिकार का हनन न किया जाए। ... (**व्यवधान**) ...

उपसभापति अधिकार कुछ नहीं है। आपके सामने यह बहुत दफा ... (**व्यवधान**) ...

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : जो नियम चला आ रहा था सदन का उसे तोड़ा गया है और अपनी अभिव्यक्ति का क्लेरिफिकेशन में जो

[डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय]

अधिकार हनन किया जा रहा है, वह चोर रूप से स्वीकार नहीं है हमको। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

उपसभापति : अब आप अगर बैठें तो मैं जवाब दूं। ऐसा कोई रूल नहीं है। रूल के लिहाज से सिर्फ एक पार्टी से एक आदमी को बुलाना है, आपकी पार्टी के 3 नाम हैं। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : कन्वेंशन तोड़ा जा रहा है, यह उचित नहीं है। . . . (व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA (West Bengal): Madam, the situation is grave not because the military forces have launched an attack because attacks like this have taken place earlier also. But the situation is grave because of two important elements in the international situation as also the situation in the sub-continent.

Number one, there is a change of Government in Pakistan. I do not call it a change of Government. A civilised coup d'etat has taken place in Pakistan. Military has taken over in a different form. Therefore, the equation of forces in Pakistan has undergone a radical change in the recent past. This is one disturbing element which seeks to make the situation grave. The second thing for the graveness is the situation in the Gulf area, a war-like situation that is becoming worse every day in the Gulf region. These two factors make this intrusion, however small or nominal, a grave one.

Why do I say so, like this? Madam, I tell you that these routes where the attack has taken place are the conventional routes for intrusion and infiltration of the Pak-trained terrorists in Kashmir. These three routes would be snow-closed within a very short period of time. Therefore, Madam, the second important element is the timing of the attack over and above the changing political equation.

If I take all these three factors into consideration, then, this is more than a normal intrusion or normal attack by the Pak forces that we are quite used to in this country.

Therefore, the point, Madam, is according to me, this is an adventure, misadventure being indulged by Pak forces which have come into power recently by throwing out Mrs. Bhutto in Pakistan. They are deliberately doing it out of their domestic compulsion. The domestic compulsion arises to take place on the 24th of October. Therefore, it might have been done to find an *'alibi* for the postponement of the election in Pakistan.

Secondly, it might have been done to please the masters of Pakistan, the real back-seat driving political masters of Pakistan, that is, Washington, so that it can get a little more military assistance and hardware from them. How are they satisfying the American imperialists? They would say that a war-like situation has developed in the Indian sub-continent. Therefore, they will ask for a little more arms. And this should be in exchange of the contingent of 5,000 troops they have sent to fight Iraq Therefore, the second consideration might be to get a little more military hardware from the American imperialism saying that warlike situation is developing in this part of the sub-continent. Thirdly, it might have been done to boost...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I would be thankful if you ask questions.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I would conclude within two minutes. Thirdly, it might have been done to boost up the morale of the Pak-trained terrorists. Fourthly, it might have been done to get political advantage, both domestic and international. Therefore, this should not be taken as the normal situation. It is just not a normal intrusion or attack. Abnormality is there in the situation. Therefore, I would like to know from the Prime Minister what exactly are the dates and timings on which the attacks are taking place. Exactly when did the Indian Government come to know of it? I am given to understand that they had knowledge that something like this was going to take place. Why I say so is that there was an intelligence report that Pak attack will be

taking place within a specific period of time. If the Government of India had the intelligence report beforehand, what was the preparedness or whether there was an intelligence warning given to the Government?

Third question I would like to ask is what the Government propose to do to ensure that the attack does not take place. It does not depend on Mr. V. P. Singh's sweet will It depends on the misadventure of the Pak ruling clique, I know, but there something that we can do, just raising it in the international forum? We can make use of our best of relations with the super powers; we can make use of our best of relations with other countries to create a situation to bring pressure on Pakistan so that they are prevented from doing this. They are interfering in India's internal affairs. By arranging training for the infiltrators in Kashmir, they are hand in glove with the secessionist forces in Kashmir, and Punjab. I do not know whether Pakistan has been able to build up links with ULFA in Assam, but it is quite true that Pakistan would like India to be weakened in every way. Therefore, how to prevent this misadventure in the future, what steps the Government will take is my question. The steps that we want to know are not only on the military front, but also on the diplomatic front.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR (Uttar Pradesh): I am happy that the Prime Minister has made his statement on the very grim situation that has developed in Kupwara Sector of Kashmir. The reports which are coming from Kashmir indicate that it is a naked aggression on India's integrity and sovereignty. Never before from 1947. up to this time, did Pakistan use this route as an attack on India. I think it is for the first time that Pakistan has chosen Kupwar Sector. It may choose any other sector in the Valley to attack India again. As usual, this Government falters; and today also the Government has again faltered. The Statement made by the Prime Minister, who is also the Defence Minister, makes us suspicious whether any Pakistani forces have entered into the Indian territory. I say this under the Simla Agreement, the word used for the boundary between India and Pakistan or the Pakistan-occupied Kashmir, has been 'the Line of Actual Control'. It is for the first time that the Government of India and that too the Prime Minister of India used the word "Line of Control". So I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether the Pakistan forces have entered into the Valley of Kashmir If so, where are they now? This is number one.

Number two, in the second para, the Prime Minister has said that India has taken appropriate action. It has always been the policy of the Government of India to take appropriate defensive action. I recall the statement made by the Prime Minister in the Lok Sabha when he built up the war psychosis in the country. It appeared to the people that perhaps India is going to commit an aggression against Pakistan. Perhaps under the saner advice the Prime Minister had to wriggle out after two or four hours from what he had said in the House. I would like to know whether the action was defensive or whether the action was otherwise.

Third, the Prime Minister has stated...

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA (Bihar): When you remove the intrusion, that means, you are defensive.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY (Uttar Pradesh): Is he answering on behalf of the Government?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: He is part of the Government.

उपसभापति : आप बोलिये, आप अपना सवाल पूछिये ।

Let the Prime Minister answer whichever point he wants to answer. Let him make his point

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Thirdly, the Prime Minister has said that it started on the 12th of August and on the 20th of August heavy artillery was used. He has also said that the exchange of fire is continuing. That

[Shri Makhan Lal Fotedar]

means when we are sitting in the House it is till continuing. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether from the 12th of August up to this date or after yesterday when the Government of India came to know that Pakistan had used heavy artillery in a sector where so far it was never used, whether the envoy of Pakistan was summoned by our Foreign office, by the Government of India and warned about this misadventure.

I am reminded of an article written by one of the distinguished commentators in one of the national papers, *The Times of India*. He has said and rightly so that questions are being raised about country's creditworthiness. We know that during this month or last month the baggage of India's envoy to Shri Lanka was inspected by the Customs officials of that little Sri Lanka. This very commentator has also written about the meeting which the Pakistan Foreign Secretary had with the Foreign Secretary of India and at the time there was no war and the Pakistan Foreign Secretary had the cheek to humiliate India's Foreign Secretary. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether he met the Foreign Secretary thereafter and what did he convey to the Pakistan Foreign Secretary? Reports say and the tale coming from Delhi cocktail party suggests—I do not know whether this is correct or not—that the Prime Minister had told his officers after his meeting with the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan "whether he threatened us." The officer concerned said "Sir, intimidated only." The Prime Minister further asked was it a slap? The officers said, "Diplomatic, Sir." I would like to know from the Prime Minister because this is being discussed in the cocktail parties in Delhi that India is not being taken seriously. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is a cocktail's cock and bull story.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I would like that this should not be correct.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: This dialogue that you are narrating, it is a cock and bull story of the cocktail party.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Fortunately, neither you attended the cocktail party nor do I attend. Had I attended, I would have told the House.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: It is still hearsay.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I do say, may be it is hearsay. (*Interruptions*). What I want to point out is that in the past, in any part of the world, if anything would happen, the world would look towards India—what Jawaharlal Nehru had to say, what Indira Gandhi had to say and what Rajiv Gandhi had to say. If it is... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: A Member has a right to express his opinion. Let him express it and I would be thankful if you listen to him in peace.

SHRI M. A. BABY (Kerala): Madam, it should be clarification. The Member has a right to seek clarification. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I also sometimes do not understand. (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. we do not want a fight between Tamil people. So please sit down. (*Interruptions*).

You ask your clarification. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Let them at least have the patience and tolerance to hear. I will just remind the Prime Minister about the meeting which the then Prime Minister had with the Pakistan envoy in 1987 at Delhi Airport and perhaps, you were also present. When our Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, told the envoy about the Brass Tacks what was happening, the Pakistan envoy—I had seen him with my own eyes—he trembled before India's Prime Minister. I am just tell-

ing you. This is what I saw myself. What I am saying today is... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI (Uttar Pradesh): Fotedarji, may I just make an appeal to you? (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, I am not yielding.

The DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I request the hon. Members that the matter before the House is serious. It is a question of the security and safety of our border. Please for heaven's sake, for anybody's sake or for country's sake, allow every Member to have his say and please be brief. (*Interruptions*). I appeal to you. I appeal to everybody including you and him.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I also want clarification. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI: One sentence, please.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI RAJ MOHAN GANDHI: At least on this issue please be national and not partisam... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is very unfortunate. (*Interruptions*). Please sit down. I did not only appeal to him. I appealed to all of you also who are making noise. (*Interruption*). Please cooperate. This is a very serious matter and if you think it is serious, please keep quite now. (*Interruption*). I can manage other people also provided you also keep quite. You don't have to point out to me. I can hear and see. (*Interruption*). This is another interruption. Please sit down. Please don't interrupt. I have used the word 'please' with capital everywhere.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, ... (*Interruptions*).

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय: इनको आप डांटिए। (**व्यवधान**)

उपसभापति: मैं किसी को नहीं डांटता। यह किसी को डांटने का सवाल नहीं है (**व्यवधान**) आपकी सीरियसनेस का सवाल है। (**व्यवधान**)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, the matter is very serious. It is not only important but it is of national importance. And when we address the Prime Minister we choose to address him not as the leader of the Janata Dal, but as the leader of the nation because a Prime Miniser is supposed to be leader of the nation.... (*Interruptions*). You must understand. On the issue of Kashmir, on the issue of Pakistan, we would not like our Prime Minister to be humiliated by a small and tiny officer like a foreign secretary. That is my point. That is what I want to say, I would not like that a foreign secretary of a foreign country humiliates us in our own country. That is my point. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please let him deny.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: A little foreign country cannot attack a Government which has to spine. I can tell the Prime Minister that all of us in this House will provide him the spinal chord. But you come out openly and strongly against those forces which are threatening the unity and the integrity of India, whether within India or outside India. That is the matter. I am just telling... (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You please ask your clarification.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am coming to, perhaps, the last clarification I would not like to urge what Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta has said though I had also to mention them. The point that I would like to mention is that in the last one fortnight, as he has rightly said, the two things... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: About spine, let me remind Fotedarji because he is going back. He said the envoy was trembling at the airport. At that time, the Prime Minister was handing over the Defence Ministry to me. (*Interruptions*).

उप-सभापति : आप अपना क्लेरिफिकेशन पूछ लीजिए ।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: What is the relevancy of it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now let Mr. Fotedar seek his clarifications. (*Interruptions*). I said let Mr. Fotedar ask his clarifications. Please do not disturb him. Please sit down. Don't disturb him.

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Let the Prime Minister be serious.

SHRIMATI JAYANTHI NATARAJAN (Tamil Nadu): In the afternoon, the Defence Minister was making a joke. Now the Prime Minister... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am happy the Prime Minister has made these remarks. There are certain secrets which I would not like to divulge. But I would like to tell him one thing. You were not the Prime Minister. It was Rajiv Gandhi who was the Prime Minister. And the Pak envoy was afraid of Rajiv Gandhi, not of you. That is the point. Now you are the Prime Minister. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt. Please take your seats. Let him ask his clarifications.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Prime Minister, you feel insecure. That is why you are going every day to the Janata Dal, the National Front, for seeking confidence. A person who seeks confidence again and again and every day means that he has lost self confidence. A leader is one who has confidence to lead.

...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI P. K. KUNJACHEN (Kerala): What he is saying is not relevant. Madam, it is not relevant.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH (West Bengal): He is not raising the matter seriously.

...(*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt. Mr. Fotedar, please confine yourself to the issue before the House. I request you to confine yourself to the issue which is before the House.

...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): Is it his value-based politics?

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Madam, Shri Gurudas Das Gupta has rightly pointed out two things, one about the creation of a situation that has arisen in Iraq and the second about the change of Government that has taken place in Pakistan.

...(*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't interrupt. Let him speak. I want him to be heard.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Up to this time we have not heard anything from Government of India concretely about the situation in Iraq. In the past, India has always supported the Arab cause and Iraq is fighting the battle of the Arabs now. Again...

...(*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is his viewpoint. When you speak, you put your viewpoint. Let us have tolerance for each other.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am coming to the point.

...(*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is his viewpoint.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Is there any gimmick?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You can make your own viewpoint when your turn comes...(*Interruptions*)... No, I am not allowing anybody.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am coming to the relevant point.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please ask your question, Mr. Fotedar.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am asking, Madam.

...(*Interruptions*)...

Madam, Iraq is fighting for Arab unity and against U.S. imperialism. I recall that the U.S. issued a statement that they would not hestitate to use nuclear weapons in the Arab world, if need be.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is Pakistan we are discussing, not Kuwait.

...(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I am coming to that. Madam, I am coming to that point.

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: Madam, he will come to Pakistan via Arab.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: Up to this time, India has not denounced the U.S. threat.

This is what has encouraged Pakistan to send its forces to Saudi Arabia to fight against Arabs. The last question that I would like to ask and which is not metioned in this statement is this. Under the cover of this heavy artillery, militants, Pak-trained militants,—and I have information that the Afghan Mujahideens...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Fotedar, please ask questions. You started at 5.13 p.m. and it is 5.34 p.m. Please don't give a history. Just ask pointed questions.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: This is the last question, Madam. It was a cover to facilitate the infiltration of Afgan Mujahideens into the valley. I would like to know from the Prime Minister whether it is a fact, and if so, whether they have been detected. It has been reported in the press that ten or fifteen Pakistani armed people have been killed. I would like to know whether there have been any casualties on the Indian side, and if so, what the number is.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN (West Bengal): In the Prime Minister's statement he has said that 'there is no cause for any undue concern'. It is true there should not be any undue concern but there is definitely cause for due concern. Only a few days back the Pakistani Foreign Secretary came and had discussions with his counterpart here. After that this incident has taken place. So it really causes concern. Instead of giving a lecture like my friend, Fotedar, I will simply put some questions to the Prime Minister and get clarifications. He said on 12th August, 1990 our troops took appropriate action against the intrusion. Then, after a lull, on 20th Pakistan started firing on the Indian side. I would like to know from the honourable Prime Minister whether under cover of operation on 20th some intrusions have taken place into India from Pakistan; otherwise, why are they behaving in this way?

Then, the Prime Minister said that some negotiations started at local government level between the two sides... (*Interruption*)...between Delhi and Islamabad. I would like to know from the Foreign Ministry whether the matter is taken up with the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan and, if so, what the reaction of the Pakistan Government is in that respect.

Thirdly, I would like to know whether the Prime Minister feels that this operation of the Pakistani militants—that is, their firing on the Indian side—has any connection with the American military build-up in the Gulf in the recent period.

My last question would be,...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Abrar Ahmed Khan raised this question in the morning, the American build-up.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: When the Pakistani Foreign Minister came to India, there were press reports that during the meetings of their officials with their counterparts in India there was an exchange of intemperate language between

[Shri Sukomal Sen]

the two sides and that the Pakistani Foreign Secretary was very angry with the Indian side and that our officials also replied in a proper manner. The clarification I seek from the Prime Minister in regard to the press report that clarification I seek from the Prime Minister in regard to the press report that is there is this, whether the Pakistani Foreign Secretary had gone back to Pakistan in an angry mood, whether as a reaction of that anger, to teach India some lesson, they resorted to firing like this. Why are they behaving like this? Why do they want to create some tension like this? Whether it was Benazir Bhutto Government or today the present Government, all their Governments are surviving on anti-India campaign. They are pouring out anti-India venom. Only a few days ago Benazir Bhutto said that if she came back to power, she would liberate Kashmir. That is her declaration which she made in a public meeting. So they are surviving on anti-India hatred and anti-India campaign. When the present Government in Pakistan is also behaving in the same way as Benazir Bhutto is doing, what is the reaction of the Government of India in this respect? (ends)

श्री प्रमोद महाजन (महाराष्ट्र) : उपसभापति महोदया, यदि कुपवाड़ा की कल की घटना सीमा पर होने वाली छुटपुट संघर्ष की नित्य घटनाओं में से एक है तो अधिक कहने की आवश्यकता भी नहीं है और गुंजाइश भी नहीं है । लेकिन भारत-पाक संबंध जिस स्थिति में हैं तथा खासकर पाकिस्तान के अन्तर्गत जिस प्रकार की स्थिति बनी है, कुपवाड़ा की घटना को नित्य की घटना मानना यह हमारी सबसे बड़ी भूल होगी । मैं युद्ध उन्मादित वायुमंडल का निर्माण करना उचित नहीं मानता और देश में अनावश्यक चिंता की स्थिति के निर्माण करने की आवश्यकता नहीं है । पाकिस्तान से हम मैत्री चाहते हैं, यह भी सच है । लेकिन फिर भी इस वक्तव्य में प्रधानमंत्री जी की ओर से जो आशावाद व्यक्त किया गया है, उससे सहमत होना कठिन लगता है । स्वयं प्रधान मंत्री जी के ही वक्तव्य में कुछ विरोधाभास है, जिसकी ओर मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी का ध्यान आकृष्ट कराना चाहूंगा

चौथे परिच्छेद में उन्होंने कहा है कि गोलीबारी दोनों ओर से जारी है । इसका अर्थ यह हुआ कि जिस क्षण हम राज्य सभा में इसकी चर्चा कर रहे हैं उस कुपवाड़ा क्षेत्र में इस क्षण तक गोली-बारी चालू है । बन्द नहीं हुई है । (व्यवधान) छठे परिच्छेद में यह कहा है कि इस प्रकार की घटनाओं की पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होगी । अब जो घटना अपने आप में अभी समाप्त नहीं हुई है उसकी पुनरावृत्ति नहीं होगी, इस प्रकार का विश्वास किस आधार पर प्रधान मंत्री करते हैं ? यह मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से स्पष्टीकरण जानना चाहूंगा । अगर घटना निरन्तर रूप में कम से कम इस क्षण तक चालू है तो इसका यह अर्थ कैसे हुआ कि इसकी पुनरावृत्ति होगी या नहीं होगी क्योंकि एक बन्द चीज़ की तो पुनरावृत्ति हो सकती है लेकिन जो चालू चीज़ है वह चालू स्थिति में होगी, प्रधान मंत्री जी से मैं इस विषय में स्पष्टीकरण चाहूंगा । इस गोलीबारी के अनेक कारण आए हैं उस में निश्चित रूप से भारत सरकार को गोलीबारी के पीछे क्या कारण लगता है और उसी पर आगे हमारी सरकार का व्यवहार निर्भर हो सकता है । क्या यह छिटपुट नित्य की घटना है, यह मेरा एक स्पष्टीकरण होगा ? क्या यह सच है कि 24 अक्तूबर का चुनाव टालने के लिए पाकिस्तान की ओर से साहस के रूप में यह हमला किया गया है ? हमारा जो गुप्तचर विभाग है उनकी ओर से हमें इस संबंध में क्या जानकारी मिली है कि 24 अक्तूबर का चुनाव न हो इसलिए सीमा पर संघर्ष की स्थिति का निर्माण अगर आवश्यक हो तो स्वाभाविक रूप से उन्हें उपयुक्तता हो सकती है । तो क्या यह कारण है ? क्या यह सच है कि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के आगामी अधिवेशन में कश्मीर के प्रश्न को फिर से उठाने के लिए सीमा पर अगर इस प्रकार की तनाव की स्थिति रहे तो स्वाभाविक रूप से इसको उठाना पाकिस्तान के लिए आसान

हो जाए, क्या इसलिए पाकिस्तान ने यह साहस करने का प्रयास किया है ? क्या यह सच है कि सर्दियों के पहले जब प्रशिक्षित आतंकवादियों को घुसाने के रास्ते लगभग बंद हो जाएंगे सर्दियों के पहले प्रशिक्षित आतंकवादियों को घुसाने का यह प्रयास है ? क्या यह सच है कि खाड़ी देशों के बीच जिस प्रकार तनाव की स्थिति का निर्माण हुआ है उसका लाभ उठाते हुए अमरीका की ओर से अधिक हथियार पाने के लिए पाकिस्तान ने इस प्रकार की चाल चली है । इसलिए इन गोलीबारी के पीछे तीन, चार, पांच, सात प्रकार के कारण बताए जा रहे हैं, इनमें से निश्चित रूप से क्या कारण होगा । प्रधान मंत्री अपनी सरकार का इस पर प्रकाश डालें । क्या संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ के जो निरीक्षण हैं उनको इस घटना के बारे में कोई जानकारी दी गई है या उनकी उस पर रिपोर्ट क्या है । यह भी मैं जानना चाहता हूं । मैं अंत में प्रधान मंत्री जी से एक आश्वासन जरूर चाहूंगा भारत की जनता स्वाभाविक रूप से शान्ति चाहती है, पाकिस्तान की जनता के साथ दोस्ती चाहती है लेकिन पाकिस्तान की सरकार उसी प्रकार चाहेगी यह आवश्यकता हमारे हाथ में नहीं है । इन प्रश्नों पर आश्वस्त करते हुए क्या प्रधान मंत्री सदन को यह आश्वासन देंगे कि पाकिस्तान यदि इस प्रकार का दुस्साहस करेगा तो इससे अधिक शक्ति से हम उसको मुंह तोड़ जवाब देंगे । मैं यह भी जानना चाहता हूं कि इस कुपवाड़ा क्षेत्र में पाकिस्तान की कितनी सेना खड़ी है ? क्या इस दुस्साहस के बढ़ने की सम्भावना है और अगर बढ़ने की सम्भावना हो तो प्रधान मंत्री जी यह बताएं कि कोई हमारे बंकर में लोग हैं, किस प्रकार की स्थिति है ? क्या प्रधान मंत्री देश को आश्वस्त कर सकते हैं कि अगर पाकिस्तान किसी प्रकार का साहस करेगा तो हिन्दुस्तान की सेना स्वाभाविक रूप से उसका मुंह तोड़ जवाब देगी । इस प्रकार का आश्वासन क्या प्रधान मंत्री दे सकते हैं, यह मैं पूछना चाहता हूं ।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now, Mr. A. G. Kulkarni,

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI (Maharashtra): Madam Deputy Chairman, I thank you for calling my party and me, for givign me a chance to seek clarifications. (*Interruptions*)

I was sitting silent because I was told that only three names are to be called.

Madam, in the morning I raised this issue, but unfortunately the Prime Minister was not available and I desired that a statement should be made. I thank the Prime Minister for making the statement. Madam Deputy Chairman, I talked with many Kashmiri friends who were MPs, in the Central Hall.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Madhya Pradesh): Including Fotedar?

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: Mr. Fotedar is my party man and an authority on Kashmir. (*Interruptions*)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please come back to the Kashmir problem.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: I am told that in the Kupwara sector where heavy artillery was used the shells came up to 5 to 9 kilometres in the Indian territory. Is it a fact? Then, Madam, is it a fact that after the Simla Agreement it is for the first time that such heavy artillery was indulged in by Pakistan? And what measures were taken on the Indian side? Is it also a fact that up to now the Kupwara and Machhal sectors are the two sectors which are used for infiltration by the Pakistan trained terrorists? Is it also a fact that they want to divert their attention, and as one of my friends said, because of the onset of the cold weather they want to rush in terrorists? Is there any serious design in this attempt by Pakistan?

Mr. Prime Minister, let me assure you that everybody in this country will support you in this case. Do not take it that we are lacking and we want to take any political benefit. We do not

[A. G. Kulkarni]

want to take any such benefit. Everybody is behind you to give you strength, moral strength. But take us into confidence. I request you, Mr. Prime Minister, to take us into confidence.

In this case I want to know about the number of casualties. Only vague numbers have been mentioned in your statement. Madam, according to the Hindustan Times, 10 Pakistan soldiers were killed and five injured. This has been mentioned by B. B. C. I want to know whether the B. B. C. report is correct. What is the fact in this case?

Mr. Prime Minister, I have got last two points. Is our intelligence outfit in the border areas quite competent to match the exigencies of circumstances whereby we can get information about Pakistani infiltration or the artillery fire, estimate their strength and retaliate properly. I do not want to say that there is panic in this country. Be assured that we are with you. But unless you give us the correct information, we cannot judge. The total atmosphere and environment on the Pakistani side and in the Gulf countries creates a sense of insecurity in the Commonwealth.

DR. YELAMANCHILI SIVAJI: (Andhra Pradesh): Thank you for giving me this oportunity. It appears that it is no longer firing by small arms. It is reported in a section of the press that in the Kupwara sector, 5 posts of Kanthanwali, Safawali Gali, Nagnwali and Tuttakhan Gali were attached by Pakistan with heavy arms. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether it is a fact or not? Our border with Pakistan is extending to about 1100 kilometers and our Army is keeping vigil day in and day out at a height of 10,000 feet. We salute our Army for its performance. Is this low-intensity war an attempt by Pakistan to wreck our supply line and to have subversion in the near future? Are they planning for a total war on the border?

It is a fact that Pakistan is training militants with modern equipments and arms. It is estimated that about 600 such militants are already existing in our border States, more so in the border districts. These militants are shielding themselves behind women, children and civilians. Wherever these civilians are killed, small monuments are erected or built up at several places to enthuse the younger generation. In a few weeks, the high passes are going to be filled up with snow. Therefore, the Pakistani Army has resorted to heavy artillery fire using high explosives and ammunitions. So, I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether our Intelligence is coordinating their activities with various security agencies and Army Intelligence? I am very much afraid that the militants in the border districts may provoke a communal backlash in the Jammu sector so that they may gain the upper hand. Every border district should have a development programme in order to wean away the youth from the militants by giving them gainful employment. The problems of the cattle-breeders and the farmers and the like in the border districts should be understood properly. And they should be given a high priority so that they may not join hands with the militants in the rural areas of the border districts. The security measures in the border districts should not alienate the local people from the authorities and the administration. I would like to seek a clarification from the hon. Prime Minister. Does the necessity demand issuing of identity cards in the border districts so that we can identify easily the militants as well as the citizens from other than India and elsewhere? Thank you, Madam.

श्री ईश दत्त यादव (उत्तर प्रदेश): माननीय उपसभापति जी, माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के वक्तव्य से यह स्पष्ट है कि जो कल की घटना हुई है पाकिस्तान द्वारा गोलीबारी की गई है यह भयंकर घटना है, लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री जी के वक्तव्य से यह स्पष्ट है कि भविष्य में इस तरह की अब घटना होने की आशंका नहीं है और

अगर इस तरह की कोई बात है तो माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में इस समस्या का निराकरण हो जाएगा। महोदया, मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूं और हृदय से सम्मान प्रकट कर रहा हूं कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी के नेतृत्व में इन 8 महीनों में देश की सीमा सुरक्षा के लिए, पंजाब की समस्या के लिए, काश्मीर की समस्या के लिए अनेक अच्छे और क्रांतिकारी कदम उठाए गए हैं। इनमें देश की सीमा की सुरक्षा भी है। महोदया, श्री माखन लाल फोतेदार जी ने एक बात सही कही है कि माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी केवल जनता दल के नेता ही नहीं हैं बल्कि पूरे देश के नेता हैं। यह बात सही है अपने कार्यों से और अपने सही निर्णयों से माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी ने यह साबित कर दिया है कि वह देश के करोड़ों लोगों के एकमात्र नेता हैं।.. **(व्यवधान)** चिंता मत करिए मैं स्पष्टीकरण पूछ रहा हूं। हमारी भारतीय सेना .. **(व्यवधान)**

श्री सुब्रह्मण्यम स्वामी (उत्तर प्रदेश): माखन लाल के नाम पर माखन लगा रहे हो।

श्री ईश दत्त यादव : स्वामी जी हमारे भारतीय सेना के सैनिकों ने डट करके मुकाबला किया पाकिस्तान की फौज का और उन्हें खदेड़ा। हमारे भारतीय सैनिक भी बधाई के पात्र हैं। जिस मुस्तैदी के साथ और जिस हिम्मत और हौसले के साथ उन्होंने सीमा की सुरक्षा की है वह भी उसके लिए बधाई के पात्र हैं।

महोदया, मैं ज्यादा विस्तार में नहीं जाना चाहता, केवल एक चीज की जानकारी चाहता हूं कि क्या माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी की या भारत सरकार की पाकिस्तान की जो नई सरकार जतोई सरकार है इनमें इस तरह की कुछ वार्ता आज या कल में हुई है कि वह शिमला समझौते का पालन करेंगे ? इस तरह की क्या कोई वार्ता हुई है और क्या सरकार आश्वस्त है कि इस शिमला समझौते का पालन होगा ? मैं केवल
6.00 P.M. इतना ही माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से जानना चाहता था। और महोदया, आपके प्रति आभार प्रकट करना चाहता और श्री माखन लाल जी फोतेदार को एक चीज बता देना चाहता हूं कि प्रधान मंत्री जी को विश्वास मत प्राप्त करने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं है। वह जनता दल के और राष्ट्रीय मोर्चा के निर्विवाद और सर्वसम्मत नेता हैं और पूरे राष्ट्र के नेता हैं।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee. It is quite late now. Please ask very pointed questions.

PROF. SOURENDRA BHATTACHARJEE (West Bengal): Madam Deputy Chairman, this is an issue which concerns the question of the country's security and integrity. But it is unfortunate that some attempts were made, while discussing this issue, to undermine both the Prime Minister and the Government. It is unbecoming and a recalling of the history may not be very flattering for those who wanted up to consider the reputation of previous Prime Ministers, one and all. But that is neither here nor there.

The statement that the Prime Minister has made, as it seems to me, is an extremely cautious statement which does not give a clear picture to us. Certain developments have taken place in Pakistan. Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta dealt with it. Twenty-fourth of October is the U.N. Day. And it is also the day fixed for elections in Pakistan. What will happen we do not know. But as we know instability in our neighbourhood increases apprehension in our own country. Now, the instance cited by the Prime Minister has heightened that feeling of apprehension. At least in one sector, this apprehension has come true.

Let us take first paragraph of the statement. It says that this particular areas has been used by the terrorists very frequently. This means, we must have been keeping a watch. Then, how was it that this incursion took place? If we were properly guarding in this sector, this incursion could have been avoided. We must not overreact. At the same time, neither underreact.

[Prof. Sourendra Bhattacharjee]

The statement says that the exchange of fire is still continuing, with the rider *'in one sector only'*. This is a clear attempt at trying to contain the feeling of apprehension. He should clearly state the number of casualties on our side in the operations since 12th August till the present moment, because, from the statement, it would seem that, as of present, the incursion is still continuing. If it is continuing, where is the guarantee that will not extend, or, it won't be extended, to some other sectors aso, where we may be equally unprepared, as in this particular sector, through which terrorists have been entering?

It is mentioned that the Directors-General, Military Operations, are in contact. In the circumstances stated, does it not become a bit redundant?

Then, in the concluding paragraph, it is stated: 'It is our sincere hope that there will be no recurrence of such incidents...'. When it is continuing, where is the basis for hope? There is no hope in actuality. Therefore, is there any point in voicing 'hope', as has been voiced in the concluding paragraph of the Prime Minister's statements? Will Pakistan realise the need to abide by the Simla Agreement? Even when Benazir Government was there it was not possible for them to realise that Simla Agreement was the best bet for the new generation. Now when this Government is a proxy of the army is there any scope for voicing this hope that they will realise that Simla Agreement is their best hope? I would like the hon. Prime Minister to enlighten us on all these questions and put the entire thing in a proper perspective so that the entire country is ready for appropriate action. About appropriate fire I would like the General to enlighten us, what is appropriate fire?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Sardar Jagjit Singh Aurora. He will give the appropriate answer.

SHRI JAGJIT SINGH AURORA (Punjab): I will try to do that. Madam Deputy Chairman, I have a few questions to ask. The first one is that it would appear that the Pakistani artillery fire and so on has come down because Pakistan is trying to make an effort to reoccupy the area of previous intrusion. That would be the most likely thing to happen. Therefore, if they do not succeed, it is likely that they may step up the effort. It is true that there are Directors of Military Operations in telephonic communication with each other, but that still does not mean that the Commander on the spot, who has been told to reoccupy this position and finds that he has failed, would not step up that effort. It will be interesting to note, when you said that heavy artillery has been used, how much and what is the intensity of fire because that will give us an idea of how much effort they are ready to put in. If I may draw the attention of the House, when we were having trouble in Siachen which went on for a long time till Pakistan learnt its lesson, several efforts were made to reoccupy some of those areas. So, to consider that this may be the only effort, I think, we are possibly being overoptimistic about it.

I do realise that under the present condition it is best for us to give graded response, but if Pakistan steps up the grade of its effort, then we must also be in a position to give that grade response here or anywhere else it may be. It has been mentioned that we are ready for anything that the Pakistan may bring about. It is very heartening to note that, but a couple of days ago I did not raise the point at that time, it was during the Question Hour when we were told that the situation with regard to the petroleum products in this country was not healthy, the international situation was also difficult. if by miscalculation this sort of incidents led to a more extensive war, especially when Pakistan is trying to finger us, if I may use that word, I would like to have an assurance that we are really ready with regard to the petroleum products because without that all our tanks, aircraft and so on would be hamstrung. That I think is important for us to know.

There is no doubt that Pakistan would try to make use of this period from now till

the end of October or may be November when the passes actually close in this area, because I think at 9000-10,000 feet, they would be able to move around right upto end of October or maybe middle of November. So we need greater vigil. I have no doubt that our army is alive to it.

Recently, I had a chance of going not to Kashmir but to Jammu area, to Poonch area and I was heartened to see how confident, how active our forces were and how confident they were that they would be able to give the Pakistanis a bloody nose. Thank you very much.

SHRI KAPIL VERMA (Uttar Pradesh): Madam, the situation indeed is very serious. But the statement made by Government on this very serious situation, I am afraid, is not very clear. I am disturbed particularly by the sentence that "recently" our troops noted an intrusion in this area. Now it is not very clear what is meant by "recently". When did they note this intrusion? When did it actually happen? It must have happened sometime earlier. Then I also want the Prime Minister to clarify the word "intrusion" further. Does it mean occupation of some Indian area? What does it mean actually? If it was so, how long did the intrustion continue? How long did they stay there? Then I also want to know how it happened. Were we not prepared for it? How did they manage to intrude? Were our forces not prepared for the situation? What was our intelligence agency doing? What were our military experts doing? Then on the 12th they were thrown out. But before that, the intrusion must have happened sometime earlier. I want to know how long they stayed and when our troops 'noticed' it.

Secondly, I want to know what the motivation was of this intrusion. One thing could be, as has been pointed out, it may be to cover the new routes that were used by the militants to intrude, to infiltrate. Is this intrusion to give cover to the infiltrators, or is it a prelude to something bigger, i.e. a war that they want to start with India? I want to know the Government's assessment of the situation, their perception of the situation. You might remember, Madam, that when our Foreign Minister made a statement last time, I enquired: "After Benazir's exit, what is the difference about chances of war that you feel?" because Benazir had said that war was nearer and that was in the beginning of August. So I wanted to know your perception of the situation. Then I was told by the Foreign Minister, "wait for the meeting of the Foreign Secretaries; after that we will get some indication". Now their Foreign Secretary has gone back. There were newspaper reports that abusive language was used by both sides, which was later denied. But I want the Prime Minister to take this House into confidence on what exactly was the outcome of this meeting, what indication he got about the attitude of Pakistan towards India. Is there any change in their attitude after the new Government has taken over, after the new military set-up has taken over because Benazir is never tired of saying that military has thrown her out, the ISI and intelligence have thrown her out because they want a fight with India. Now I want to know the Pak attitude because you have referred to the dialogues, and you have expressed the hope that the things would be all right. I want to know this.

Then, there are various perceptions. Some people think that they want to hot up the situation to create some tension so that they can take the issue back to the United Nations and the plebiscite resolution.

Then there is another perception which is that now, after the Gulf war, Pakistan wants more arms and ammunition, and they have already sent more troops to Saudi Arabia, 5,000 troops. So, as a front-line State, it wants more arms and ammunition from America, and so it wants to start this trouble. I want to know all about this.

What do you think is going to happen? The country will be with the Prime Minister, with the Government in case of an aggression as has always happened since Independence. Whichever Government, whichever party may be in power, the whole country rallies behind the Government if there is an attack against our country. And

[Shri Kapil Verma]

I am sure, against Pakistan, the whole country is united.

But what is the ray of hope you are talking about, Mr. Prime Minister, in this situation? That is what I want to know. Your optimistic note is here, though cautious. On what basis? You must have some basis in your mind. Please take us into confidence. The whole country is with you in the event of aggression.

Thank you.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian Swamy.

SHRI YASHWANT SINHA (Bihar): He should know his role in this.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, according to my sources in the Defence Ministry,..... (*Interruptions*).

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Now we know the mole in the Defence Ministry.... (*Interruptions*).

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE (PROF. MADHU DANDAVATE): Defence Ministry of India or Pakistan?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Prof. Dandavate, please take care of the economy. Otherwise you will be out of seat soon.

According to my sources in the Defence Ministry, this incident is the seventh incident in the last 20 days. But the Defence Ministry has chosen to publicise this particular incident. I would like to know in what way it is different from the previous incidents in the recent past.

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN: Which are the incidents? Elaborate.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: The Prime Minister should tell you. You are supporting the Government. They do not keep you informed. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY (Tamil Nadu): What is your source? (*Interruptions*)

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What kind of a* remark is that from the D.M.K., I would like to know. Will you withdraw that charge? You should be ashamed of yourself.

SHRI T. A. MOHAMMED SAQHY: What is the source of your information?

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You ask that. What do you mean by it?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please. I would request Members. I requested right from the beginning. It is a serious matter. Every Member has the right to express his view point. Please don't pass irresponsible comments (*Interruptions*). It will be expunged from the record.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: Who is he to ask him the authority?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You keep quiet.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: No, no. I am very much wounded. When they raise something, you use polite language. When we stand up, you use a harsh language.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please don't get angry.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: I am very much hurt. I am not at all angry.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: All right. You are not angry.

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN: You should be polite. You should respect my age.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I agree, you are not angry. All right? Please take your seat. I take you at your word. Please

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

hear me, and I will speak very slowly, any word against any Member, which is derogatory, will never go on record while I am presiding. All right? Now sit down.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: So, Madam, I would like to know from the Prime Minister what message the Defence Ministry wants to convey by making this public. If the message is to gear up the atmosphere in the country, I regret that this statement is so weak that it will only end up encouraging the enemy, in this case Pakistan.

If Pakistan is preparing for war, this, in fact, is the most ideal situation for them today because the weather is appropriate, the Kashmiri people are in turmoil, Pakistan has once again become the front-line state to the United States because of the situation in the Middle East and the Americans are going to pump in a great deal of sophisticated arms to Pakistan. We have an oil squeeze. ****

And in this context...

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह (बिहार) : *यह तो बहुत गलत बात है ... (व्यवधान)

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, this is an irresponsible statement coming from the mouth of a responsible Member of the House. The Member must be cautioned. The whole House must rise in one voice to caution this gentleman.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I don't need Communists to tell me what it means to be patriotic. The whole country knows their role in 1942. (*Interruptions*).

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : किस आधार पर ये बोल रहे हैं ? सदन यह जानना चाहता है कि किस आधार पर ये बोल रहे हैं कि ** (व्यवधान)

डा० रत्नाकर पाण्डेय : हमारे सदन के नेता ने स्वयं बयान दिया है इस बारे में ... (व्यवधान)

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. (*Interruptions*). I would not let you complete till everybody sits down.

I have not permitted you. Don't have this habit of getting up and shouting. (*Interruptions*). I request all Members in all seriousness that this is a serious matter. It concerns the security of our country. Please do not make any irresponsible statement. You also Mr. Subramanian Swamy. Confine yourself to the Statement.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: There is nothing irresponsible about what I said. You interrupted me in the middle. I said that this country...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I did not interrupt you. Members interrupted you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Please listen to what I am saying before you pass a remark like that. I said*

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: How do you say that?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: How do you say that. It will not go on record. Mr. Subramanian Swamy, please don't make... (*Interruptions*). Please let me handle. (*Interruptions*). Please take your seat. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He should not be allowed to make such a statement. He cannot be allowed to make a statement which affects the security in the country. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Before any Member makes any allegation he has to substantiate it. I will not permit you to make such an allegation

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You are not letting me complete what I am saying.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: No, I am not allowing you to complete.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What do you mean by you are not allowing me to complete? I am not a Minister under oath.

---

*Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

**Not recorded.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You don't understand the seriousness. You don't realise what you are talking. (*Interruptions*). You first understand what he is talking, then you interrupt. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI N. K. P. SALVE (Maharashtra): Madam, I don't like to interrupt, but something must be made clear that to have the military operation we can divert the entire indigenous production. We have got it 20 times more than what Pakistan has.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: These things should not go on record.

* * *

* The Prime Minister as the Defence Minister should say that the Army has got reserve of petrol for one year. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: He is acting against the nation.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian Swamy, I would not allow you.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: You don't give me lecture on patriotism.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please sit down. I don't give lecture to anybody, but you cannot abuse the right of clarification. I will not permit it. Keep quiet. ..(*Interruptions*)... Take your seats. Let him hear what I have to say. You cannot abuse the right of clarification. You understand it. ..(*Interruptions*)...

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: These things in this country are not required. They are to be condemned.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, as regards the statement of the Petroleum Minister, he was talking about the civilian stocks not Defence stocks and I am ready to replenish the Defence stocks. But may I say we can meet any contingency.

*Not recorded.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now you confine yourself to the statement.

SHRI JAGDISH PRASAD MATHUR (Uttar Pradesh): What about those words?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: They are not going on record. They will not go on record. They will not be reported in the Press because they are expunged from the record from now on.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I don't understand; if a Member here makes a statement on the basis of information that he has, it is for the Prime Minister to contradict it.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I will not allow you to abuse this right.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: I cannot be prevented from warning the country of the true position. We have seen...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It is not true position. It will not go on record again. It will not be reported in the Press.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: It may not go on record. That is your privilege You cannot have it on record. You can take anything off the record but I have a right to...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Subramanian, anything which jeopardises the security of the country will never be spoken in this House.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: How can my statement jeopardise it? I have heard the Prime Minister saying that they will ask the Chinese Army to be thrown out. Did that enhance the position? (*Interruptions*)...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: You speak on Pakistan. Forget about China.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: So the question is that we must be prepared and I have a right here to caution the Government. I have a right here to seek clarification from the Prime Minister on a question which is appearing and there is speculation all over. It is here for him a forum to clarify. I said it. I saw it based on my information. The Prime Minister

contradicted it. I think that is what will get precedence. I think to make this is a matter of jingoism patriotism to cover up our weakness, I cannot accept but then you have ruled, I will go ahead. ..(*Interruptions*)...

THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION (SHRI P. SHIV SHANKER): We should not insist in these matters because the message may go in a different way. We are appealing to the hon. Member not to insist on that.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: What is the message? If as a Member of Parliament, I bring out something here, this Government and the official body have contradicted. They are not going to believe me.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: My understanding of the word "Member of Parliament" is that they are very responsible people. Whatever they speak in the House makes news; not what appears in the newspapers should become a news in this House. You are a responsible Member of this House please make your statement with all the responsibility at your command.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: All of us have to be responsible including the Chairman. The Chairman has a right to protect my right... (*Interruptions*)...

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH: He cannot be allowed to speak. It should not go on record.

SOME HON. MEMBERS: He must not be allowed to speak.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: All of us in this House have a responsibility to be responsible including the Chairman.

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: Madam, I am on a point of order. The rules of Business of the House clearly lay down that no aspersion shall be cast on the office of the Chair. It is not a question who is there in the Chair but it is the Chair which is important and sacrosanct so far as its wisdom of propriety in the House and conducting the business of the House is concerned. No Member is allowed to question the propriety of the judgement that flows from that office. This is number one.

Madam, secondly, we are duty-bound to the nation. No person is entitled to create a psychology of fear or scare in the country by saying.... (*Interruptions*). Madam, I want the ruling (*Interruptions*). I repeat it. I want your ruling whether a Member can behave like this in the House. I want your categorical ruling. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I had already given my ruling that every Member of this House is a responsible Member and he or she should make every statement which is responsible. Wild allegations which cannot be substantiated, will not be allowed to be made in this House, specially so, if they are jeopardising the security and the safety of this country. This is my ruling.

SHRI PRAMOD MAHAJAN: The remarks of Mr. Gurudas Das Gupta should also go. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: I want my remarks to go. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Now the matter is over.

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Therefore, I would like to know from the Prime Minister, what is the counter strategy in broad terms—although for security reasons, he may not give the details—what is the counter strategy in view of the difficult situation that we are facing internationally and also within our own country. I am quite sure that the army can meet any exigency and I am a person who has for the last 22 years been talking to the defence personnel in the National Defence Services

*Not recored.

*Not recored.

[Shri Subramanian Swamy]

Staff College. I know what fine people they are. But it is necessary for us not to be complacent. That is precisely what I was trying to draw attention. The statement itself is so vague. It says, "we hope." The Foreign Minister of Pakistan came here on the Indian soil when the present Government just came to power. The way he spoke at that time the Foreign Secretary has done the same thing. Pakistan's Prime Minister has made statements about liberation of Kashmir and setting aside money. How can we live on hope? I want to know whether you are going to engage in modernising our own defence in some concrete way including the production of nuclear weapons so that Pakistan knows that it cannot play with the integrity of India. That is what I wanted to know. I did not expect Communist Party which has*

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't cast aspersion on any other party. That will not go on record. (*Interruptions*).

SHRI GURUDAS DAS GUPTA: This has must be expunged has already been expunged.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: This has already been expunged. Such remarks which are against any party will not go on record. (*Interruption*). No such remarks against any party will go on record. (*Interruption*).

SHRI DIPEN GHOSH:*

SHRI SUKOMAL SEN:*

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY:*

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY (Assam): Madam, it is really unfortunate that the hon. Member has made such remarks. I want to know from the Prime Minister whether he is going to make a thorough enquiry as to from where the hon. Member got the information. (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ahluwalia, we are discussing Pakistan and not Assam. You must know it. (*Interruption*). Keep quiet. I am not permitting. (*Interruptions*).

SHRIMATI BIJOYA CHAKRAVARTY: I want to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether he is going to make thorough enquiry from which defence source, the hon. Member, Mr. Subramanian Swamy got this information. Secondly, I want to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether the Government had any apprehension of the occurrence of any major incident in the borders because of the changing situation in the political scenes in Pakistan and in parts of the Middle-East. Thirdly, is the Government thinking that the heavy shelling to protect infiltration in the border areas can be brushed aside simply as localised border skirmishes as mentioned in the statement of the Prime Minister? Fourthly, it is mentioned in the statement that our troops noted an intrusion in the area. I want to know to what extent the infiltrators had come deep into our territory. And what is the exact date when our troops noticed this intrusion. Also, what are the exact areas of infiltration in our parts of the country? When these areas had been cleared? Were any civilians affected by the process? Lastly, Mr. Fotedar made a remark that when Rajiv Gandhi spoke, Pakistanis used to tremble. I would like to know from the hon. Prime Minister whether he wants to send Rajiv Gandhi to the frontier so that the defence expenditure could be reduced? (*Interruptions*).

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Please, let there be order in the House. Now, Mr. Ram Awadhesh Singh.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : माननीय उपसभापति जी, आज भारत और पाकिस्तान में एक मौलिक अन्तर है और वह अन्तर यह है कि हमारे पास संसद का हथियार है और पाकिस्तान के पास संसद का हथियार नहीं है। इन दो परिस्थितियों में आज ये दो देश खड़े हैं। संसद के नियंत्रण के हथियार का हमारे सामने अभी एक नमूना आया कि स्वामी जी जैसे व्यक्ति ने नियंत्रण के औजार के रूप में अनर्गल बात कही और हम लोगों ने सुनी .... (**व्यवधान**) । मैं भी कभी

*Not recorded.

कभी कहता हूं, ठीक बात है, लेकिन ऐसे मौके पर जब राष्ट्रीय सुरक्षा खतरे में हो,*

उपसभापति : आप अपनी बात कहिए, दूसरों पर टिप्पणी न करिए। किसी पर टिप्पणी न करिए। आप काश्मीर और पाकिस्तान के बाहर मत जाइये।

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, is it going on record?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: It will not go on record.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : महोदया, मैं काश्मीर और पाकिस्तान के बारे में ही पूछ रहा हूं। यह जो प्रधान मंत्री का बयान है इसमें कुछ परस्पर विरोधी बातें लगती हैं क्योंकि पैरा 1 से 4 तक धीरे-धीरे एक-एक पैरा से दूसरे पैरा में बढ़ते हुए यह लगता है कि सिचुएशन, वहां की परिस्थिति-गम्भीर होती जा रही है और चौथे पैराग्राफ में तो गोले उगलने लगी है और पांचवें पैराग्राफ में तो एकदम प्रेस का तार बैठने लग है। इस तरह से यह विसंगतियों से भरा हुआ है क्योंकि पांचवे पैराग्राफ में हमारे डायरेक्टर जनरल, कंट्रोल और पाकिस्तान के डायरेक्टर जनरल, मिलिटरी कंट्रोल, बातचीत कर रहे हैं और प्रेस का बीन बजा रहे हैं और चौथे पैराग्राफ में कहते हैं कि हम रोज तोपे गोले उगल रही हैं और फिर दोनों ओर से गोलाबारी जारी है। ये दोनों विपरीत परिस्थितियां आपने बखूबी स्टेटमेंट में रखी है। इसलिए मैं यह कहना चाहता हूं कि आखिर बात क्या है ... (**व्यवधान**)। देखो मैं मुंह देखी बात नहीं बोलता। न मैं प्रधान मंत्री की ओर से बोल सकता हूं और न आपकी ओर से बोल सकता हूं। जो मेरे ध्यान में बात आयेगी वह मैं बोलूंगा। उससे किसी को तकलीफ हो या किसी को खुशी हो। ... (**व्यवधान**) ... मैं जो कह रहा हूं वह आप समझिये।

उपसभापति : आप छठे प्वाइंट पर आ जाइये। आप पांच तक पहुंच गये हैं।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : असल बात मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि आखिर बात क्या है ... (**व्यवधान**) ...

SHRI SUBRAMANIAN SWAMY: Madam, you wanted a serious debate, but he is laughing.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yes, I wanted a serious debate. That is why I am asking him to come to the sixth point.

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह : इस बयान में बताया गया है कि शुरू से कि कैसे कैसे वे ट्रेनिंग देकर भेज रहे हैं। फिर आगे के पैरा में हैं कि उन्होंने घुसपैठ की। फिर कहा कि गोलीबारी की गई। तो धीरे-धीरे पाकिस्तान की सरकार का रवैया मालूम हो रहा है कि वे हम से लड़ने के लिए तैयार हैं। जब लड़ने की तैयारी उसकी है, यह बात स्पष्ट है तो हमारी ओर से भी तैयारी है या नहीं ? हालांकि अपने वक्तव्य में बहुत खूबी से प्रधान मंत्री जी ने कह दिया है कि हम हर तरह की परिस्थितियों से निपटने के लिए तैयार हैं। यह ठीक है इसमें ज्यादा प्रधान मंत्री को नहीं बोलना चाहिए। यह ठीक है... (**व्यवधान**) हम लोग वास्तविक परिस्थिति को जानना चाहते हैं लेकिन प्रधान मंत्री को इससे ज्यादा नहीं बोलना चाहिए कि हम उन लोगों को मारकर खदेड़ देंगे या खदेड़ रहे हैं। जैसा*

उपसभापति : राम अवधेश सिंह जी, यह बहुत गंभीर विषय पर बात हो रही है। मैंने शुरू से ही सब से कहा है कि आपको जो मुद्दे पूछने हैं पूछ लीजिए। अगर आप संजीदगी से सवाल करना चाहते हैं तो अवश्य करें लेकिन अगर नहीं करना चाहते हैं तो आप बैठ जाइये। मैं दूसरे मेंबर्स को बुलाना चाहूंगी जो सीरियसली सवाल करना चाहते हैं। ... (**व्यवधान**) ... It will not go on record. राम अवधेश सिंह जी हो गया।

श्री राम अवधेश सिंह :*

लेकिन हम लोग जानना चाहते हैं, देश की जनता जानना चाहती है कि हमारी तरफ से क्या क्या तैयारियां हो रही हैं। यह तो हम लोगों को बताइये कि हम लोग कितनी तैयारी कर सकें हैं, हमलोग किस स्थिति में हैं।

उपसभापति : कु० चन्द्रिका केनिया, बिल्कुल संक्षेप में सवाल पूछिये।

*Not recorded.

*Not recorded.

KUMARI CHANDRIKA PREMJI KENIA (Maharashtra): In a very reluctant manner, you are giving me permission to speak on a very vital subject. I must thank you for the same. Madam Deputy Chairman, the whole nation as one man condemned the attempts of Pakistan to create a grave situation in our border areas which will lead to the relations between the two countries flaring up and these things too have been done with a view to helping Pakistan divert the attention of the people of Pakistan from the internal turmoil being faced in Pakistan and this has arisen out of the aftermath of the overthrow of Benazir Bhutto Government. As far as Shiv Sena is concerned, we are very clear in our minds that there are no soft options open to the Government to tackle the provocations and intentions of Pakistan and the situation prevailing in Jammu and Kashmir. Shiv Sena firmly believes that Jammu and Kashmir affairs should be handled firmly and Pakistan should be made to realise that their attempts to destabilise the country will not be tolerated and that they will be retaliated in the same coin. Coming to the clarifications I would like to ask a few pertinent questions arising out of the statement and I hope there will be a proper response to them. In the first paragraph it is stated that continued attempts of infiltration have been made by Pakistan-trained terrorists. I would like to know how many such attempts have been made previously, because the statement seems to be quite vague. Secondly, I would like to know whether these continued attempts of infiltration were detected or not. The tone of the statement seems to be quite mild and subdued and the idea seems to be to play down the importance and significance of the developments on our border. I would like to know whether, first of all, any attempts were made how many attempts were made and whether they were detected and dealt with by the Indian Army.

Then I would like to know whether there are any casualties and if there are, what their number is, because the statement is completely silent on this. It is surprising that there is no mention either way regarding casualties on our side in spite of the fact that heavy weapons like mortar and artillery have been used during this operation.

There are two dates mentioned in the statement. One is 12th and the other is 17th of August. Is there any continuity between these two dates? What I would like to know from the Government is whether there is a continued attempt on the part of Pakistan to provoke us from 12th August onwards till today.

I would then come to the words and I would object to the words used in the fifth paragraph where it is said, "There is no cause for undue concern." We are all concerned over the situation prevaling at our borders. You further mentioned that these are localised incidents. When we look at the intensity of the operations and when we look at the dimensions of the relationship between the two countries for many years and looking at the nature of firing and the artillery used, I don't think these are localised incidents.

And finally, we have been carrying on talks with the Director General of Military Operations so far. I would like to request the Government to take this matter up to a higher level so that there could be a mutual dialogue and we can ensure that there is no recurrence of these incidents in future.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Dr. Abrar Ahmed Khan had raised some very vital points in the morning. I would like him just to summarise his points. Dr. Abrar Ahmed Khan. Please don't be very elaborate.

डा० अबरार अहमद खान (राजस्थान): उपसभापति महोदय, मैं प्रधान मंत्री जी से जानना चाहूंगा कि चौथे प्वाइंट की अन्तिम पंक्ति में यह लिखा है कि गोलीबारी दोनों ओर से जारी है लेकिन यह सब इसी सेक्टर तक सीमित है । इसी सैक्टर तक सीमित है, इस जगह मुझे शंका पैदा होती है । वह यह है कि कश्मीर की जो बार्डर लाइन है उस में मात्र इसी स्थान पर पाकिस्तान गोलीबारी कर के कहीं ऐसा तो नहीं है कि हमारा ध्यान और हमारी फौजों का ध्यान इस कुपवाड़ा के

क्षेत्र में लगा कर वह ट्रेंड मिलिटेंट्स को दूसरी किसी दर्रे के रास्ते के माध्यम से हमारे देश में और कश्मीर में भेजना चाहता है। इस संबंध में प्रधानमंत्री जी से मैं यह जानना चाहूंगा कि हम कौन सी सतर्कता के कदम उठा रहे हैं। दूसरी बात, जो आज हालात बने हैं उस में पाकिस्तान के जो अमरीका से रिलेशंस हैं उनको नहीं भुला सकते हैं। जिस तरह से अमरीका पाकिस्तान नये से नये हथियार लेता रहा है, मदद लेता रहा है उसको हम भूल नहीं सकते हैं। जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान का समर्थन अरब मुमालिक करते आए हैं उसको हम नहीं भुला सकते हैं। आज जो हालात बने हैं अरब देशों के अन्दर जिस प्रकार से अमरीकी सेना आ कर जम गई है भारत के दरवाजे तक अमरीका की सेना आ कर जम गई है, 50 जंगी जहाज, 400 लड़ाकू विमान, ढाई लाख सैनिक आ कर के जम गये हैं, जिस तरह से सेटेलाइट के माध्यम से अमरीका ने इराक की इस तरह से घेराबन्दी कर रखी है कि एक तश्तरी में जो छोटी से छोटी चीजें रखी हों उसको वे देख सकते हैं और यदि उसको जरा सा टेढा कर दिया जाए तो भारत की हर स्थिति का जायजा ले सकते हैं : वहां पर पाकिस्तान के भी पांच हजार सैनिक एस्सोसियेट करने गये हैं अरब मुमालिक के साथ मिल कर इससे यह साफ जाहिर है कि आज जो घटनाएं घट रही हैं उसमें हम इस को पुरानी छिटपुट घटना की लाइन पर न देखें। मैं माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी से यह जानना चाहता हूं कि ये जो हालात बने हैं, ये जो पूरे समीकरण बने हैं जो अमरीकी सैनिक वहां हैं, पाकिस्तानी सैनिक वहां हैं, अरब मुमालिक वहां सब मिले हुए हैं और जिस तरह से पाकिस्तान को समर्थन करते हैं उस संबंध में आज हमारे लिए अमेरिका का क्या विचार है या जो उनकी दृष्टि और नीयत रहती है उसके संबंध में हम किस तरह की जानकारी रख रहे हैं, या उनसे सतर्कता बरतने के लिये, देश की सुरक्षा के लिए क्या सोच रहे हैं?

आखिरी बात मैं कहना चाहूंगा कि अभी विदेश सचिवों की बात हुई और गुजराल साहब भी एक लम्बी विदेश यात्रा पर गये हुए हैं। गुजराल साहब अभी इस प्रेजेंट इश्यू के बारे में गये हैं। तो क्या पाकिस्तान का जो रवैया भारत के प्रति रहा है, जिस प्रकार पाकिस्तान मिलिटेंट्स भेजता रहा है उस संबंध में अरब मुमालिक के राष्ट्राध्यक्षों और जिन जिन देशों में जा रहे हैं उनके राष्ट्र ध्यक्षों से बात करेंगे? इस संबंध में मैं यहां "लार्बाइंग" वर्ड यूज करूंगा, क्या इस प्रकार की कोई लाबीइंग करेंगे, क्या यह भी बात कह कर वे गये हैं? माननीय प्रधान मंत्री जी इन बातों को बतायें। धन्यवाद।

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Madam, I want to thank all the Members because they have very clearly said that so far as the defence of the country is concerned, their support, everyone's support, is there and I am grateful for that.

Madam, this has been the character of the country that whenever any such peril has come over the country or any such threat has come, the country has been one.

Madam, I do not want to sound complacent and, at the same time, I do not want to raise undue alarm. There is neither place for complacency nor is there any need for panic, and we should see what has happened actually; neither multiply it too much nor minimise it

Before proceeding to answer the points, I want to pay my tributes to the soldiers at the front. They have upheld the integrity of the country and they have ensured that no foreigner sets his foot on our soil and they have ensured that no part of our territory is under the feet of an enemy. And that is clear from the statement itself and I need not further elaborate it.

Gurudas Das Guptaji, mentioned about various angles the possibility of Pakistan getting more arms by its participation in the Gulf, also the background of the elections coming there, the political compulsions in Pakistan boosting the terrorists' morale and its political advantages. While these points have force, they need not necessarily be related to this particular issue and these points can be analysed on their own, independently, whether there is this incident or no incident on our border. What has said, in this context, if you apply it to this question and then see it in that context, I suppose that will be clear. While we are alter on all the

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

points that he has said, at this juncture, what I would like to say is that, at present, it is in this sector that this firing has taken place. On the other sectors we are alter. But I think beyond that we should not be alarmed about anything like an attack across the border. I think that would be reading too much in this situation. On the line of control, incidents happen; they regularly happen. For years these have been happening. Everybody knows it. Every one of us knows it. This time heavy artillery, etc. have been used. Anyway, as Gen. Aurora said, our response has been equally effective.

Gurudas Das Guptaji also asked as to what we intend to do militarily. I think the message has gone very clearly; we do not have any aggressive design. We want peace and friendship with Pakistan, as with all the other peoples. It is in the long-term interest of both countries. But the message has gone that they cannot take us by surprise. If they have any design to take us by surprise, I think the message has gone that they cannot take us by surprise. I think that is good enaugh.

About super powers, we have our stand that these matters are bilateral between us. But we have explained our position to various countries as also to the USSR and to the USA. Certainly they do not want any conflict in this area. The USSR clearly said that there should be no interference in the internal matters of India and the US has also put pressure that Pakistan should not take any adventurist path and has also emphasized on the Shimla Agreement. To super powers we have been able to convey our point of view.

Fotedarji, the thrust of your general remarks was that India is being humiliated and we are taking the humilitation. Fotedarji, far from it.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: I did not say India ...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: All right, if you want to make it personal to me, certainly I take note of it. Or from anyone.

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: When you are there, you are not there as raja of Manda but as the Prime Minister of India and you should function as such. I do not want that anybody should humiliate India. That is my point.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I understood your subtlety. (*Interruptions*).

I may assure you that there is no question of taking any humiliation. You mentioned about the Secretaries' dialogue, etc. When negotiations or any talks are going on, both parties do strongly express their points of view, but certainly no abusive language was used. That cocktail news must be of the latter part of the cocktail party. (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MAKHAN LAL FOTEDAR: That is according to the Press. Neither the Prime Minister is denying it nor ...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: No, no. I said we do maintain our position. When we mantain our position, we mantain our position strongly. In maintaining the position no abusive language is used.

AN HON. MEMBER: About people having entered the valley...

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: That is also a part of the cocktail story. What I said is that it goes to the credit of our forces that when they saw some intrusion they took action. On the 12th August, there were 12 structures which they razed to the ground. Our casualties were nil. On the Pakistan side, presumably whoever had been in these structures would have suffered casualties. We do not know the number. (*Interruptions*) That is right. I am telling you that this is a fact that those structures had to be removed because they were about 200 to 300 yards from the line of control from our side. (*Interruptions*) There is no line of control as such. From what we understand from our position, they were 200 to 300 yards inside.

7-00 P.M.

AN HON. MEMBER: How long did they exist?

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt please. Let him continue answering it.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Only the necessary tactical time to wipe them out was taken. No more than that. I think we should not read more than what General Aurora said He is from the forces. They may be trying to establish something by the present reaction on 20th, by their artillery fire. We are meeting the situation effectively. It is not that they have made any intrusion or that there are intrusions today. So, that is the position. That is why I say that there is no need for such alarm. But at the same time we cannot be complacent.

श्री सिकन्दर बख्त (मध्य प्रदेश) : कपिल वर्मा का एक सवाल था कि इंटूजन क्यों हुआ।

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am coming to that. He mentioned about casualities. Shri Sukomal Sen asked about negotiatiors between the D.G.M.Os. A point was also mare whether we have taken it up with the Ambassador here. That was asked by Fotedarji. The D.G.M Os. are in contact. Our assessment is that it is good enough at that level. It is a localised thing and the D.G.M.Os. are meeting. Our Foreign Ministry is alert. If we see any further dimension or ramification, then we can take it up at that level. At this stage, we think that the D G.M.Os. level is good enough.

Then he said that the Foreign Minister came. Perhaps he went in an angry mood and they want to teach us a lesson. Well, the country's relations do not go by the mood of any particular individual. I think the lesson of any intrusion within India has gone. I don't have to elaborate. If there is any lesson, it is the other way round. That make it is clear.

Pramod Mahajanji asked what is the reason of the present firing going on. I think our assessment is very close to what General Aurora said. Maybe they are trying to regain what happened on 12th August and trying to establish something.

SHRI N.K.P. SALVE: Mr. Prime Minister, would you repeat the same sentence?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I am saying that on 12th August we had removed the intrusions within our side of the line of control. So, this might be an attempt to try to regain or something. But they have not been able to do so. The firing is by artillery but not any physical intrusion into the territory.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Retaliation.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: A question was asked. He asked:

अगर ऐसा दुस्साहस करेगा तो सदन को आश्वासन दें कि उसका, मैं तो अभी वही शब्द इस्तेमाल करूंगा अरोड़ा जी का :

"Well-graded response".

एक माननीय सदस्य : वह चाहते हैं, मुंह तोड़ जवाब दें।

श्री विश्वनाथ प्रताप सिंह : वह तो है कि धरती की प्रक्षुण्णता कायम रहेगी, इसका मैं पूरा आश्वासन दे सकता हूं। इसमें कोई कसर बाकी नहीं रहेगी।

Mr. Kulkarni asked about the Intelligence on our border, and the level, and its competence. I say, our Intelligence network and our Forces there have done very good work. And most of the interceptions are at the border itself. And in a long border, they tried to sneak in, in small numbers. Some infiltration has taken place. But most effectively they have been dealt with. I have the figures with me. This is at the Line of Conotrol itself. I am not talking of other parts of J&K or anything. 586 militants have been apprehended infiltrating and exfiltrating. And 225 have been killed. So, the Forces are doing a good job there.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: I just asked Mr. Prime Minister whether the shells came within ten KMs of our border. That is what I have asked.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, I do not know the dis-

[Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh]

tance exactly. I don't have exactly the distance with me. But they are using 120 mm mortars and 81 mm mortars; that is the technical range. And we are also using the equivalents.

Then, Dr. Sivaji asked: Are they planning a total war? I think, that will be reading to much into one incident. But we are alert for any eventuality, though we are doing all efforts...

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: . . to improve our relations.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: If you are not satisfied, I will see that the Prime Minister satisfies you.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: I did not want to interrupt. I want to go out.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Don't go out. Don't walk out.

आप बैठिए, सुनिए । आपने सवाल किए, आपको सैटिस्फैकसन नहीं है तो प्रधान मंत्री जी जवाब देगें । जाइए मत ।

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: He is fully satisfied by my answer to his question.

SHRI A.G. KULKARNI: I know, it is not the practice that every single point has to be replied to. A general reply is necessary and that is what the Prime Minister is giving.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I think, every Member also should be replied to on some point.

SHRI A. G. KULKARNI: That is very kind of you.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Dr. Sivaji asked about the identity cards, etc. That scheme about identity cards is on in the border States.

For Ish Duttji's grateful support, I am thankful to him. He asked about the Shimla Agreement. But he said about taking the matter with Jatoi and all that, at that level. This time it is at the Secretaries level. When the relevant atmosphere is there, then the levels can be upgraded. Mr. Souren Bhattacharjee asked about the casualty which I answered. He has asked about the hope. Why is the hope? That was raised by other Members also, Mahajanji and Ram Awadheshji: How does the hope come? We are having a dialogue. And even what we had at the Secretaries' level, there were certain confidence-building measures that we suggested about an agreement that one should not violate each other's airspace, about communicating with each other in regard to exercises, etc. In regard to these things, in the last talks, there seemed to be some movement and we hope that these confidence-building measures can be improved upon. If we had no hope, there is no question of this dialogue going on. We have to be firm. At the same time, the diplomatic initiative should not be given up in trying to improve our relations because it is in the larger interests and it is in the interest of our long-term goal of having better relations between the two countries. Of course, if there is an incident on our border, we will deal with it firmly. I feel, they are not contradictory. Ram Awadheshji was saying...

दोनों में विरोधाभास क्या हैं ? सामंजस्य हैं।

Kapil Vermaji asked about the meeting of the Secretaries. I have already mentioned it. While there were other differences, on some items like this, there seemed to be some movement which, we hope, would concretise.

SHRI SIKANDER BAKHT: 'Intrusion' was his basic question.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: I have said about it. I have replied to him. He stood up and I said.

He asked 'How long was the intrusion?' I said 'It was no longer than was tactically necessary to remove it'. I think that is enough.

I think these were the questions. In regard to Mr. Subramanian Swamy, I have already intervened in between.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Prime Minister, there was one question which was raised by the last speaker that by involving us in this sector, are they making use of the other areas for sending more infiltrators?

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: Well, I do not think we will get into these traps by such simple ruse. We have got our whole defence set-up which knows these things. They are alert all across the border and I do not think we will get into these traps. (*Interruptions*) Shrimati Bijoya Chakravarty said 'There are no soft options.' About the infiltration, she said 'The tone is subdued'. The tone is subdued but quite firm and I think this is how a strong country should respond. At the same time, we should not over react and lose sight of the long-term goal. We will pursue the long-term goal while taking these things in our stride.

I thank all the hon. Members. Let me sum up and say that our alertness is full on the border. We have full confidence in our armed forces and in the people of the country, because it is a joint effort for the security of the country. We are alert. We are not complacent. But I think, in this one incident we should not read too much at this moment.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): 'At this moment'. That is the qualification.

SHRI VISHWANATH PRATAP SINGH: We should pursue our long-term goal of having better relations with Pakistan.

I thank all the hon. Members.

MESSAGE FROM THE LOK SABHA

The Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir) Special Powers Bill, 1990

SECRETARY-GENERAL: Madam, I have to report to the House the following message received from the Lok Sabha, signed by the Additional Secretary of the Lok Sabha:

> "In accordance with the provisions of rule 96 of the Rules of procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha, I am directed to enclose the Armed Forces (Jammu and Kashmir Special Powers Bill, 1990, as passed by Lok Sabha at its sitting held on the 21st August, 1990."

Madam, I lay a copy of the Bill on the Table of the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: The House is now adjourned and we will meet again tomorrow at 11 a.m.

The House then adjourned at fifteen minutes past seven of the clock till eleven of the clock on Wednesday, the 22nd August, 1990.

MGIPMRND—M—161 RS—6-12-90—400